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ABSTRACT

The process by which Hispanic students move from two- to four-year colleges was studied. Based on interviewing, case studies are presented for two Hispanic females and two non-Hispanic Caucasian females attending De Anza College, California. Each of the students aspired to eventually transfer to a four-year college. Students' decisions to attend De Anza College, students' access to transfer information, and student communication networks were examined. Information on the logistics and requirements necessary for transfer was assumed to be conducive to transfer. Student links to the Counseling Center were emphasized because the center is the formal source of transfer information on the De Anza Campus. Hispanic students begin with a distant link or no evident link to a campus counselor. During their experience at the college, a network pattern evolves that brings the students into a second order relationship (friend of a friend) with the counselor. For the Hispanics in the study, the network pattern is not directly linked to the formal transfer information flow of the institution. For the non-Hispanic students a direct relationship with a counselor develops over time. Their network pattern, unlike that for Hispanic students, is directly linked to the formal transfer information flow of the institution. (SW)

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THE STRUCTURE OF STUDENT COMMUNICATION:

LIVING WITHIN THE NETWORK

by

Caroline Sotello Turner

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THE STRUCTURE OF STUDENT COMMUNICATION:
LIVING WITHIN THE NETWORK

This paper is about the flow of students through educational institutions. It examines the process by which Hispanic students move from a two-year college to a four-year college. According to a recent report in California Higher Education (May, 1984, p.15), the average student transfer percentage from community colleges to four-year colleges in California is 10.7%. In Fall 1983, the Hispanic student transfer percentage moved from 8.3% to 8.9% to the University of California system and 9.1% to 9.7% to the California State University system. These percentages are below the overall average (10.7) and represent small numbers of Hispanics compared to their proportion (16.7%) as first-time freshmen in community colleges. (CPEC, 1984, p.42). Out of 105,271 freshmen in community colleges, 17,580 are of Hispanic origin. Of the 5,305 students that transferred to the nine campus University of California system, 472 (8.9%) are Hispanic. Of the 30,274 that transferred to the nineteen campus California State University system, 2,936 (9.7%) are Hispanic.

Although not all students enter community colleges in order to transfer to a four-year institution, the low Hispanic transfer rate is of concern to the California higher education community. The 1980 Census reports that Hispanics comprise 19.2% of the total population in California. Conservative estimates project that this percentage will increase to 21.7% by 1990 and 24.4% by 2000 (Center for Continuing Study of the California Economy, 1982, p.16). Hispanics now make up 32% of kindergarten enrollment, 16% of the senior high school classes in California but only 6% of UC enrollments. (Irving, 1984). Additionally, of those Hispanics who go on to higher education in California, over 80% enter the community college system. (CPEC Report 81-14, 1981, p.9).

The projected increase of Hispanics in the state and the low transfer of Hispanics from two to four-year colleges has prompted state-wide concern

to examine the factors that could improve the participation of Hispanics throughout the higher education system in California. Testimony on the transfer function was taken by the California Postsecondary Education Commission's Ad Hoc Committee on Community College Transfer during March and April 1984. A major item of concern is the low rate of transfer among minority groups. Harold Hodgkinson in "Guess Who's Coming to College: Your Students in 1990", warns that the potential decline in the college cohort could be twice that presently projected for the nation in 1990 (now, 24%) if minority students do not pursue post-secondary education. This warning is particularly relevant for California as 43% of the students enrolled in California public schools are minority and, of this figure, over 25% are Hispanic with dramatic increases projected.

An examination of the transfer percentages detailed in the above-mentioned reports prompted me to ask: What do the numbers mean? The numbers are measurements of student flow through a system. Some students flow from the 107 campus California Community College system to one of two multi-campus, four-year college systems, and some do not.* I wanted to find out what happens to individual students moving within the transfer flow. In other words, what do the percentages mean in terms of individual student experience? The numbers tell me a great deal about transfer flows, but tell me little about the "fish" trying to move within the transfer currents. Primarily, I wanted to know about the experiences of Hispanic students who seek to navigate transfer, and if these experiences differ from non-Hispanic white students. One way to learn is to jump in the river and talk with

*This study does not examine the reverse transfer phenomenon.

students about their experience in the system of currents within which they live. I decided to do just that. This report details my journey for you.

Study Setting: De Anza College

De Anza College is one of the 107 community colleges in California. It is located in Cupertino and serves approximately 28,000 day and evening, full and part-time students. It is one of the largest of California's community colleges. Most students are enrolled in the evening (18,873) with the remainder enrolled during the day (9,777) according to the De Anza Fall 1981 Student Characteristics Report. Full-time students are numbered at 5,306 with 23,344 part-time students. The 1981 figures show that 5% of the day students are Hispanic (523) and so are 5% of the evening students (1,016). The number of Hispanic students in 1981 was 1,539 or 5.4% of De Anza's total enrollment. For 1982, the number of Hispanics rose to 2,178 or 9.1% of De Anza's total enrollment. Concomitantly, Caucasian enrollment declined from 22,133 (77.4 in 1981 to 16,925 (70.4%) in 1982. In Fall 1983, De Anza transferred 122 students to UC and 655 students to CSU. Two of the 122 transfers to UC are Hispanic, and 30 of the 655 transfers to CSU are Hispanic. (CPEC Report 84-10, 1984). The percentage of full-time students at De Anza who enrolled in a UC or CSU campus for Fall 1983 was 12.8%. This is above the average transfer percentage for all community colleges reported at 10.7% (California Higher Education, May 1984).

The Transfer Process: An Overview

Looking at a De Anza organization chart and at the De Anza phone directory, I could find no reference to services available that directly addressed the hopeful transfer student. No transfer office was listed and no transfer advisors were indicated. However, a reading lab instructor directed me to the Counseling Center in response to this

question: If I was a new minority student at De Anza who planned to transfer to a four-year college after two years, where would I go for advice on planning my course schedule?

The De Anza Counseling Center is located in the administration building. Services provided by the center include career, academic/educational, and personal counseling. I interviewed nine counselors. They provided a description of the institutional requirements for transfer from De Anza to a four-year college. There are many formal avenues, rules and procedures which a counselor may use to impart information on transfer to students. The elements of this formal system of information flow are listed in Appendix A.

Description of the transfer function provided by counselors projected a highly complex process. How counselors could keep all the necessary academic advising information for transfer and non-transfer students in their heads amazed me. In addition, counselors must respond to the personal, social and career advising needs of students.

The transfer process involves the decision made by students to attend a community college, fulfilling the general education and major requirements for an Associate of Arts degree, and taking transferable community college courses. Courses considered equivalent to lower division classes in the four-year college a student wishes to attend. If a student meets the basic eligibility requirements for transfer to a four-year school, he may be accepted without an Associate of Arts degree. In many cases, holding an A.A. degree is not necessary for transfer.

The transfer function is a task that is not solely the responsibility of the community colleges. It greatly depends upon the interorganizational information flows among all segments of higher education. In California, there are 107 community colleges, 19 California State Universities, and 9 Universities of California (not to mention private two and

four-year educational institutions). According to the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), the lack of agreement among higher education instutions on what courses are transferable is a primary reason for "failure in the transfer function." (MALDEF, 1983, p.1: For example, each UC and CSU campus sets its own admissions criteria. Combined with the flexibility that community colleges have in designing course content and corresponding course numbers, a situation is created that forces transfer students to obtain a course-by-course, school-by-school evaluation of the transferability of each course taken in a community college. Another issue raised by MALDEF is that oversubscribed or impacted college departments set more stringent requirements for transfer students. They may require specific courses that must be taken prior to transfer. Timely information is critical for students who hope to transfer into "impacted"programs as engineering and computer science. According to MALDEF, many minorities are first generation college attendees and, as such, are most dependent upon the formal services of the institution to guide them through the transfer process successfully.

Counselor Comments

De Anza counselors described the transfer process for me in these words:

> There is no formal (transfer) process. No 1+1 equals transfer. Each campus has different transfer requirements...There is much variety between schools and departments in the same system. For example, lower division requirements for transfer in psychology to UC, Berkeley may differ from lower division requirements for transfer in psychology to UC, Los Angeles. The student must know where he is going so he can prepare for transfer. (Counselor Interview 2)

> The bulk of our students go to the state college system. They take the general pattern of general education requirements (offered at De Anza) for transfer. A pattern is also worked out for the College of Letters and Science at UC, Berkeley. Other campuses have different requirements. If students want to attend UC, Davis, we have to work individually with that student. If a student wants to attend

another college (other than Letters and Science) at U[illegible],Berkeley individual programs must be outlined. (Counselor Interview 3)

Transfer requirements depend on campus and school within a campus. The requirements are different enough, so the student must be careful to know what these differences are. (Counselor Interview 3)

A student can transfer almost anywhere in the country. If a student doesn't transfer to the usual schools (CSU, San Jose or UC, Berkeley), he must ask the other school for a catalog and we help develop a lower division program. (Counselor Interview 4)

One problem is that some lower division courses here are the same as upper division course elsewhere. For example, computer science is not a transfer program. If a student wants credit at a four-year college, he must fight to get it by petitioning to the division involved.(Counselor Interview 4)

The schedule of classes indicate transfer courses. Students don't look at the college catalog. They are responsible for the information. (Counselor Interview 1)

All transfer courses can be identified by a course numbering system. Courses numbered 1 to 49 are acceptable for transfer to UC, courses numbered 1 to 99 are acceptable for transfer to CSUC, and courses numbered greater than 99 are not transferable to either UC or CSUC. These are remedial courses. (Counselor Interview 2)

Counselors also provided some explanation as to why they did not see many Hispanic students:

We don't have identifiable Hispanic counselors. Shy people may feel more welcome if there was someone with an Hispanic name or identification.(Counselor Interview 7)

Hispanics are reluctant to come into an office or building like this. Those who are mainstreaming tend to come in. They are more goal-oriented and want help with planning. Otherwise, they are very much into groups. Friendship and social ties are more important. They must ask something and are reluctant to do this. If they identify themselves with the school, they take advantage of the service. Many do not identify with school as doing anything for them. (Counselor Interview 6)

The counselor/student relationship is a healthier relationship when they(the students) seek it out. (Counselor Interview 6)

There are no special services for minority students at the counseling center. We have to be able to work with all students because we see all types of students. (Counselor Interview 4)

> Hispanics are actively recruited to go to the Multicultural Center for class scheduling. (Counselor Interview 8)
>
> Our feeder schools have no high school counselors. They may not know how to use counselors. (Counselor Interview 6)
>
> There is not enough going on between us and the Multicultural Center. (Counselor Interview 9)

With these dimensions of the transfer process at De Anza in mind, I felt ready to interview students. Six Hispanic females and three non-Hispanic white students (two females and one male) were interviewed. This report presents four comparable student cases : two Hispanic females and two non-Hispanic white females. Each student expressed as their educational goal eventual transfer to a four-year college. Patterns of transfer experiences among these students were examined to determine the extent to which their experiences were similar and different. Attention was focused on student decision to attend De Anza College, student transfer information acquisition once on campus, and student communication networks.

The Transfer Information Flow:Assumptions and Analytical Framework

Information on the logistics and requirements necessary for transfer was assumed to be conducive to the movement of students from De Anza to a four-year college, whereas the lack of information was thought to inhibit this movement. Student links to the Counseling Center were emphasized because the Center is acknowledged as the formal source of up-to-date transfer information on the De Anza Campus.

Student interviews provided close examination of the participation of specific students in the transfer information flow at De Anza. The following questions guided the analysis of interview data collected:

- For Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites interviewed, does information enter the process in different ways and at different points?
- If differences do exist, do they have implications regarding the ability of these students to transfer from De Anza to a four-year college?

Educational advising links are formed prior to college entrance and develop from this point during college. For this reason, events prior to the initial enrollment decision are part of the transfer process activated once students arrive on campus. An examination of four student interviews yielded events contributing to each student's decision to enroll at De Anza. Upon arrival on campus, events were identified which contributed to student acquisition of transfer information. Following this description, communication network analysis is used as the conceptual framework for examining the interpersonal flow of information between the student, classmate, counselor, family members,etc.

Event Listing Technique: An event listing technique is a data management tool to illustrate processes. According to Miles and Huberman (1983, p.206) "a process, after all, is essentially a string of coherently-related events." The events leading to transfer include decision points about attending college and about which courses to take. In the findings and analysis section of this report, Figures 1-4 depict student paths to De Anza. Figures 1A-4A depict circumstances which influenced course scheduling. Figures 1, 1A, and 1B describe Student 1, Figures 2, 2A, and 2B describe Student 2, and so on.

Communication Network Analysis: General Background

Rogers and Kincaid (1981) define communication as mutual information-exchange resulting in shared meanings between two or more individuals. Communication network analysis is a research method for identifying the communication structure in a system. For this study, the method allows the researcher to focus on the mutual information-exchange linkages that students live within. This analytical tool makes the interpersonal relationships visible and manageable as a variable under observation. The unit of analysis is interpersonal relationships, not isolated individual

Rogers and Kincaid note that the emphasis of network analysis on communication links "enables the researcher to explore the influence of other individuals on human behavior."

Following is a brief description of basic network analysis concepts to be used in this report:

First Order and Second Order Relationships: Each student is viewed as a focus from which lines radiate to points. The points represent persons with whom the student is in contact. Persons linked directly to the student are defined as having a first order relationship with her. Each person directly linked to the student may be in contact with others whom the student does not know, but the potential for contact through first order relationships exists. These one-step away contacts(or "friends of friends) form the student's second order relationships. According to Milroy (1980, p.46), "although a third, fourth and nth order zone could be distinguished, the first and second order zones appear, in practice, to be most important."

Density of Network: A communication network is referred to as dense if many persons linked to the student are also linked to each other (independent of the student). The more dense a network, the greater the potential for communication between parts of the network. More information can be exchanged. Boissevain (1974, p.37) warns the researcher that density is "simply an index of the potential not of the actual flow of information. He does state, however, that density is important because where there is high density, there is a possibility of high volume of information exchange. Boissevain also states that high density networks tend to "bring about homogeneity of norms and values" (p.37)

Multiplexity of Networks: While the number of links is important, the content of links is useful to know when considering the potential influence of a network on behavior. For example, kinship ties may be more influential than neighborhood, work, or religious ties. A person may be linked to a student in a single capacity or role relation only. On the other hand, the same person may be related to the student as co-worker, roommate, sister, volleyball team member, etc. A link between two people that is based on a single role relation is described as uniplex, whereas a link that covers many roles is multiplex. A high multiplexity condition is important, according to Milroy for "multiplexity and density are conditions which often co-occur, and both increase the effectiveness of the network as a norm enforcement mechanism." (1980, p.52) Boissevain again cautions the researcher of the necessity for measuring the actual "transactional content" of a relation

before one can assume that multiplex linkages result in friendly, confidential exchanges. Greater accessibility may not yield more response to pressure between two persons.

Figures 1B-4B present communication networks depicting the interpersonal relationships between each student and potential sources of transfer information. These Figures portray educational advising linkages prior to enrollment at De Anza, and the evolution of such communication networks within the De Anza College setting. The analysis emphasizes the student linkages to the Counseling Center. Such contact is assumed to have the potential for mutual information-exchange regarding the transfer process.

Findings and Analysis

Profile: Student 1
Hispanic Female

Student 1 is a part-time night student at De Anza. She is a second year student who works approximately 22-36 hours per week. On campus, she has a position of peer counselor for the Multicultural Department*.

Student 1 attended a Ballet Folklorico performance at De Anza when she was in junior high school. She enjoyed the campus visit and left with a desire to return one day. Her college career began at Hartnell College as a major in Early Childhhod. However, she wanted to leave Salinas. She moved to Sunnyvale and went to San Jose City College for a while, but felt it was too much like high school. Her roommate recommended that she talk with the CARE Program Coordinator at De Anza. She met with the Coordinator and decided to attend De Anza. She has since moved into the College Readiness Program because CARE became a program only for persons on Aid to Families With Dependent Children.

Student 1 is working toward a computer science certificate, but hopes to eventually transfer and pursue a degree in Administration. She would like to work at a high school or junior college. She

* all underlined terms in the profiles are defined in the glossary (Appendi

doesn't want to go to San Jose State ("so many friends have gone there from Salinas, but I'm here working--it would be convenient"). She would like to transfer to UCB, Hayward, or UCSC.

Presently, Student 1 is trying to get her general education requirements out of the way so that she can transfer. She feels it will take one more year to finish at De Anza, then three years to complete a bachelor's degree.

Student 1 learned about courses to take and possible majors during a CARE program orientation. The Multicultural Department offered course planning advice and trained her to become a peer counselor. She helps other plan their programs.

A close friend of Student 1 lives in Salinas. Her friend is married and has two children. Student 1 is single and has no children. Her friend went to school for a while and then quit.

Student 1 has received financial aid from De Anza but decided to go to work. She states that "I did not want to deal with financial aid paper work." She feels that she can make it by working and can leave the aid for others to apply for.

Student 1 actively participates as a campus club officer and as a member of student government. She helped to set up a small scholarship fund for students.

According to Student 1, her mother places a high value on education. Her mother attended a state university but did not finish. Student 1 is the youngest of four siblings. Her sister attended San Diego State and is now at Hartnell College. One of her two brothers is completing a GED (equivalent to a high school diploma). The other brother is employed.

Figure 1. Decision to Attend De Anza College-Hispanic Student
Student 1

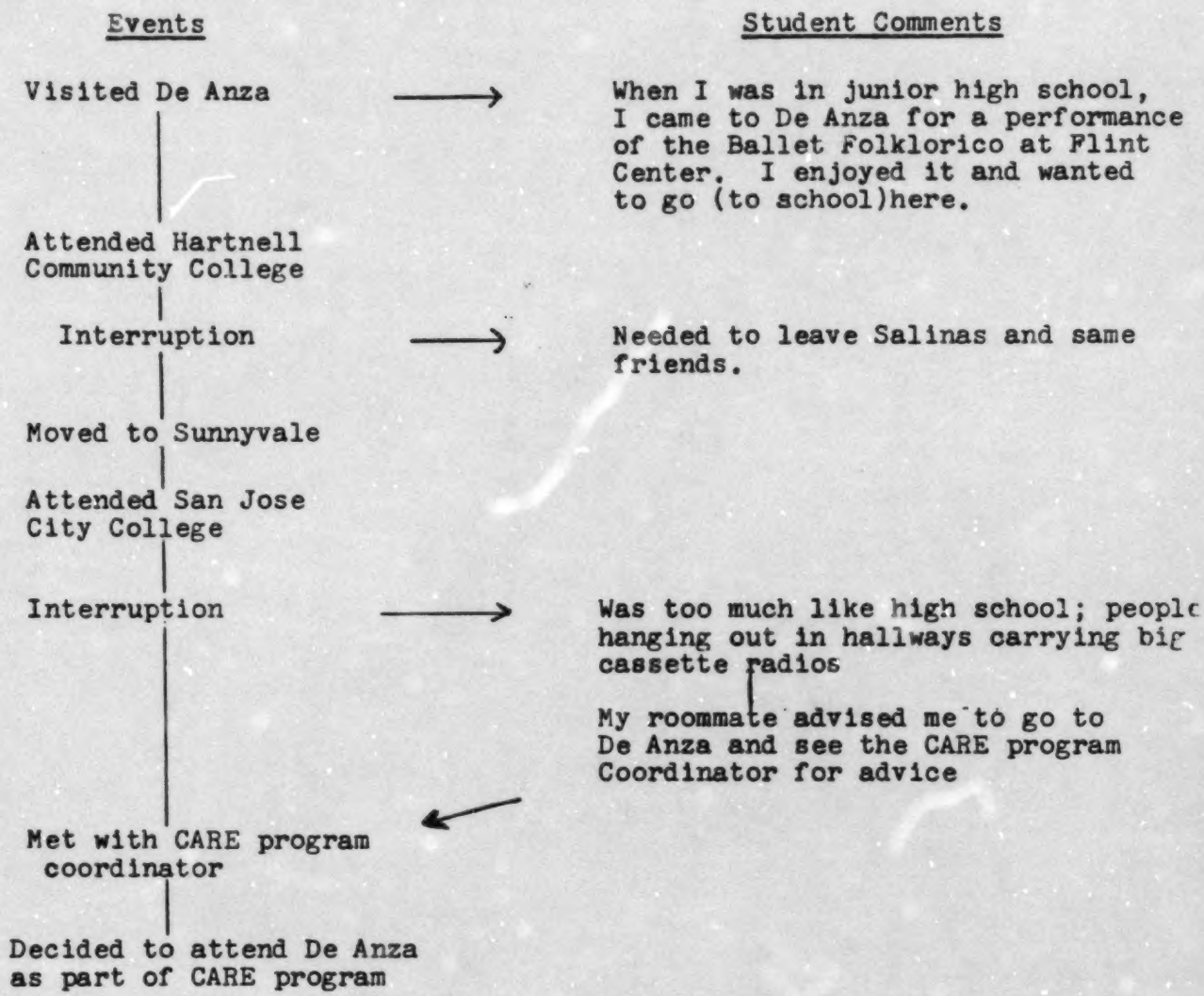
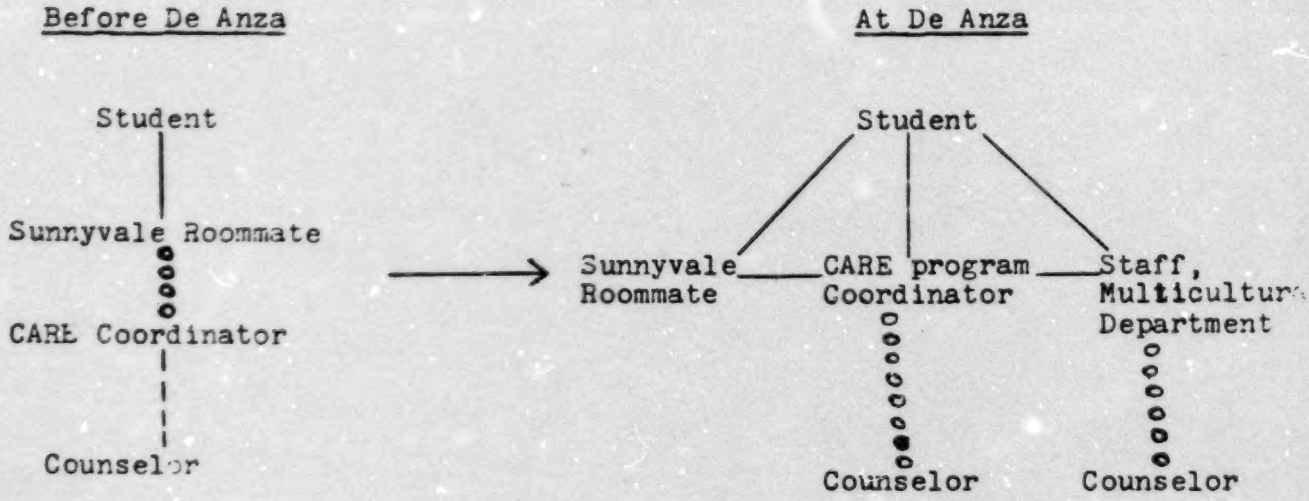

Events
Student Comments
Visited De Anza
When I was in junior high school, I came to De Anza for a performance of the Ballet Folklorico at Flint Center. I enjoyed it and wanted to go (to school)here.
Attended Hartnell Community College
Interruption
Needed to leave Salinas and same friends.
Moved to Sunnyvale
Attended San Jose City College
Interruption
Was too much like high school; people hanging out in hallways carrying big cassette radios
My roommate advised me to go to De Anza and see the CARE program Coordinator for advice
Met with CARE program coordinator
Decided to attend De Anza as part of CARE program

Figure 1A. Transfer Information Acquisition-Hispanic Student
Student 1

Events		Student Comments
CARE program orientation	→	I got information on what to take and what to major in.
Interruption	→	Guidelines for CARE program eligibility changed
Transferred to De Anza College Readiness Program	↙	
June 1982-Hired and Trained as Multicultural Peer Counselor	→	I decided to work. I could get loans but don't want that. I don't want loans hanging over my head.

Figure 1B. Communication Network:Before De Anza and While Attending De Anza
Student 1



_____First Order Realtionship

0000000Second Order Relationship

-------Third Order Relationship

Comments on Student 1 Profile

Before enrolling at De Anza, Student 1 mentions no direct contact with someone at the college. However, through her roommate, she has a second order relationship with a person who provides educational counseling--the CARE program coordinator at De Anza. Contact with the coordinator seemed to influence Student 1's decision to return to school. Through the CARE coordinator, Student 1 has a second order link to campus counselors.

While at De Anza, Student 1 continues a first order relationship with her Sunnyvale roommate and the CARE coordinator. She also develops direct links with others on the Multicutural Department staff. The CARE program and the College Readiness Program both come under the Multicultural Department. However, after two years, the link with a campus counselor remains in the second order zone. Student 1's view of counseling center services are reflected in her remarks--"I'd like to see what they say about my decisions once I make them...They can't help me with decisions but can give me some kind of input later." Of concern to me is that Student 1 is talking about transfer and is enrolled in a computer science certificate program. According to Counselor 4, it is difficult to qualify Computer Science courses for transfer. Students have to go through a petitioning process with the division or department involved. At times, courses are not approved for transfer despite this process. Maybe the student knows about this possible problem, but maybe she doesn't.

Profile: Student 2
Non-Hispanic White Female

Student 2 attended Saratoga High School and, after her parents divorced, moved to Cupertino. She linves very close to the De Anza campus. She considered attending West Valley College in the Saratoga district but decided she needed a change--"I had had enough of my friends and wanted to get out to meet new people...When I first came to De Anza, I knew few people. Other students knew all their classmates because most of them went to the same high schools. So, I had to break the ice at first. It's just like moving to a new school. You make new friends all over again. It felt like I was going off to college."

Student 2, like Student 1, is a sophomore or in her second year at De Anza. Unlike Student 1, Student 2 attends school full-time during the day. Student 2 is working toward a psychology Associate of Arts degree (A.A.), but may settle for a liberal arts or social science degree. She states that "the A.A. is not really important...the A.A. is only an intermediate step to get to a four-year college." Student 2 has applied to UCLA for admission as a psychology major next year.

Student 2 was a late registrant and had to add all her classes when she initially enrolled at De Anza. As a result, she did not take Counseling 50*, An Orientation to College. She guessed what courses to take during her first two quarters at De Anza. Her academic interests were in science and psychology, so she enrolled in Biology and Interviewing and Counseling her first quarter. Later, she was to find that the Interviewing and Counseling course transfers to CSU, but not to UC. She also took a two unit credit/no credit lab class; credit/no credit classes also do not transfer. According to Student 2, her first

*recall that the underlined terms are defined in the glossary in Appendix B

appointment with a counselor was of no help. So, she purchased the General Education Guide and found it useful in planning her course schedule, although she felt that "the interpretation of it is still guess work." At one point, during her second quarter, she asked her father's girlfriend for information on course scheduling. Her father's girlfriend is a staff member of a neighboring community college. She knew a particular counselor at De Anza and recommended him to Student 2. Student 2 met with the counselor and continues to consult with him. Student 2 says that "you must make sure that all classes taken transfer...De Anza and UCLA agree on which classes they accept. They have worked it out between them." Student 2 indicates that she was lucky because she only took six units which were not transferable. "I'm lucky because I'd probably be here two extra quarters trying to make up what I goofed."

Student 2's parents are college graduates and are "strong on education." Her older brother recently graduated from UCLA. Her closest friends are either presently attending college or have completed a college degree and are now employed. Student 2 is not involved in campus extracurricular activities. She works 40 hours per week as a night supervisor in a Deli--"it affects my grades but not enough to drop working." She plans to get a part-time job at UCLA to pay for "extra things." She has not applied for financial aid. "Dad makes too much--over $50,000 a year." Building a good employment history is also important to Student 2--"When I get out of college, I'll still have that(employment) background."

Figure 2. Decision to Attend De Anza College-Non-Hispanic White Student
Student 2

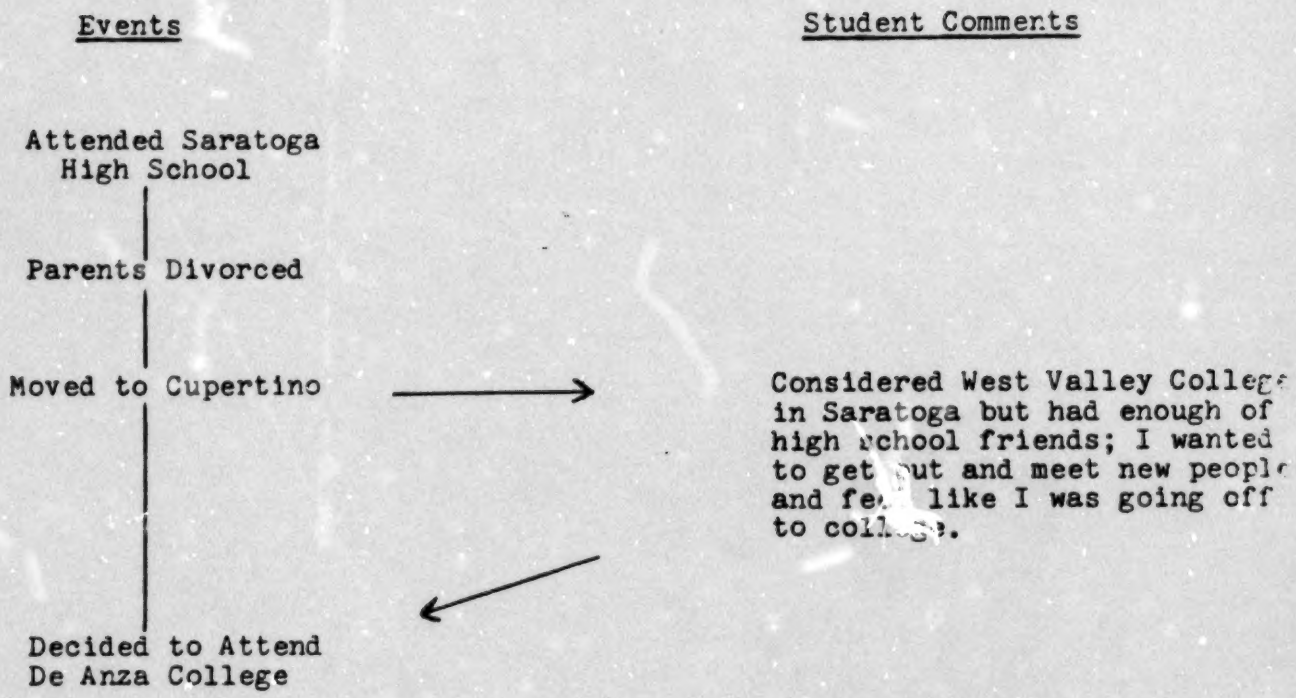

Events
Student Comments
Attended Saratoga High School
Parents Divorced
Moved to Cupertino
Considered West Valley College in Saratoga but had enough of high school friends; I wanted to get out and meet new people and feel like I was going off to college.
Decided to Attend De Anza College

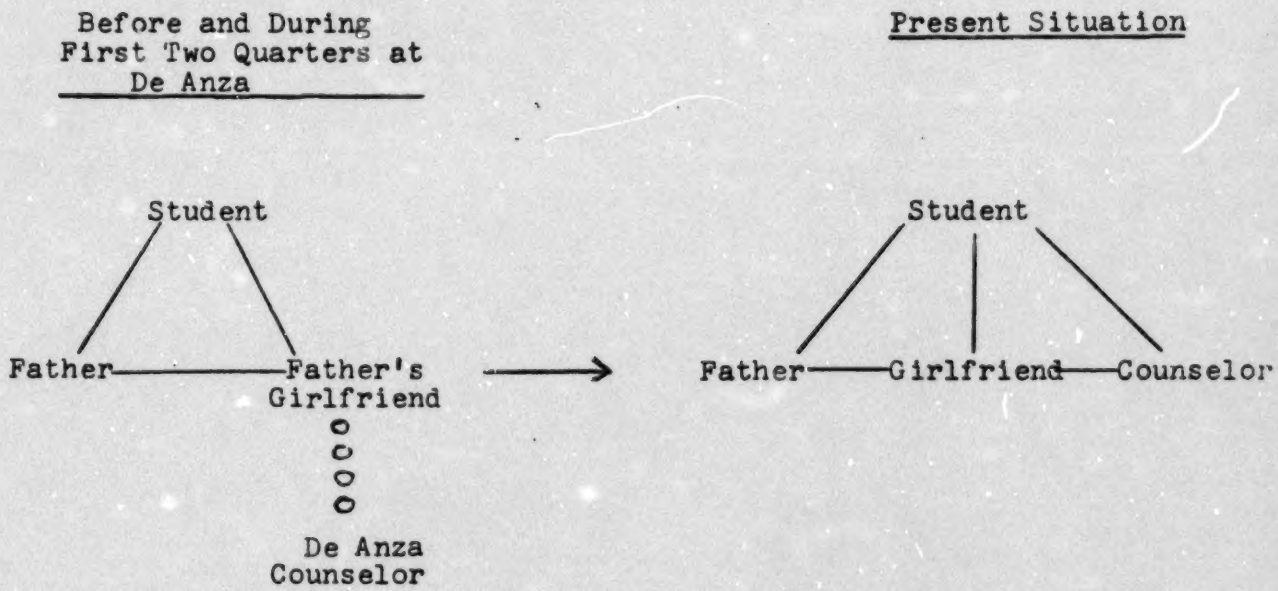
Figure 2A. Transfer Information Acquisition-Non-Hispanic White Student

Student 2

Events	Student Comments
Registered late;added all classes; did not take Counseling 50	
Had a counselor appointment →	He was no help at all; I just guessed what (courses) to take at first; Didn't know what to major in; I did know that I wanted to transfer to UC instead of State.
Purchased General Education Guide →	All the (transfer) information is here, but the interpretation of it is still guess work.
Father's girlfriend who works at a community college recommends a counselor at De Anza	
Appointment with counselor (after second quarter at De Anza) →	Discovered that I only took six units that were not transferable. I have applied to UCLA and should be hearing by the end of this month.

Figure 2B. Communication Network: Before Entering De Anza, During First Two Quarters, and Present Situation-Non-Hispanic White Student

Student 2



_____First Order Relationship

00000000Second Order Relationship

Comments on Student 2 Profile

Student 2 has a brother who has completed a degree at UCLA and both parents are college graduates. The prevailing norms in her environment support college attendance. Student 2 enters De Anza knowing that she wants to transfer to a University of California. She is interested in either Biology or Psychology as potential majors. She is fairly clear about her educational goals. Even so, her comments indicate that course scheduling was confusing until she received direction from her present counselor. Her comments on the importance of course transferability demonstrate an accurate grasp of the transfer process.

Before and during her first two quarters at De Anza, Student 2 has first order or primary relationships with people who are oriented toward college. Through her father's girlfriend, she has a second order relationship (friend of a friend) with a De Anza counselor. Student 2's present situation, as illustrated by the communication network structure, shows that a first order relationship with the counselor has evolved. Student 2's present communication network is dense--that is, persons linked to Student 2 are also linked to each other, independent of her. This network structure has the potential to reinforce prevailing norms toward education. Its connectedness opens channels for communication and opportunities for information-exchange.

Comparison Comments

Neither Student 1 or Student 2 mention close friends as a source of transfer information. Both students work approximately 40 hours per week. These students are comparable in terms of gender, age, and ability to articulate their views. Both were very enthusiastic interviewees and tended to elaborate, with minimal prompting, on their responses to questions asked by the researcher. Each expressed a need to get away from high school friends and have new experiences while in college.

Both express a desire to transfer to a four-year college after De Anza. However, Student 2 is operationalizing that desire at a much faster pace than Student 1. This could be due to the part-time status of Student 1. However, as we will see, Student 4 is also a part-time night student and is making timely progress toward transfer.

Other differences between Student 1 and Student 2 include:

- Student 1 is Hispanic and Student 2 is non-Hispanic white.
- Student 1 is a part-time night student and Student 2 is a full-time day student.
- Student 1 actively participates in extracurricular activities and Student 2 does not.
- Several people in Student 2's family hold degrees from four-year colleges (UCLA and San Jose State). This is not the case for Student 1.
- From the communication network analysis, the Hispanic student (Figure 1B) begins with a second order relationship to someone who can provide educational counseling, and a third order relationship to campus counselors. The counselor link becomes a second order relationship as time elapses, but doesn't develop into a first order relationship. The non-Hispanic white student (Figure 2B), on the other hand, begins with a second order relationship to a campus counselor. This link becomes a first order relationship over time.
- Student 2 has applied to UCLA for transfer and Student 1 continues to be unsure of her plans.
- Student 1 must work in order to pay for her schooling. This is not of major concern for Student 2. She has not applied for financial aid at UCLA, and views employment as a means to earn money for "extra things" and to build a work record.

Profile : Student 3
Hispanic Female

Student 3 attended Sunnyvale High School. She dropped out of school in ninth grade. She intially enrolled at De Anza as part of the Renew Program, but was eliminated from the program because she did not carry the required number of units one quarter. The program paid for "babysitter and registration fees." Student 3's husband's former elementary school teacher is employed at De Anza and convinced her to return to school. This time she enrolled as part of the WIN program.

In December, Student 3 expects to get a certificate of proficiency in Accounting. Courses she has taken include English 1A, Algebra, Accounting 1A and 1B, Basic Programming, Data Structure and Files, and Business 52. She wants to go into computerized accounting and own a small accounting firm one day. She needs two classes after the certificate to complete an accounting major but has taken few general education requirements. She states "I want to go on for an A.A. but WIN won't allow me to...Before, the program allowed two years of schooling, but Reagan changed it...now it is a one year program. In December, I'll find a job and go to school at night...I would like to get a B.A. and become a financial analyst."

Student 3 is a full-time day student. She works approximately twenty hours per week as a general clerk in a division office on campus--"keeping track of accounting ledgers for lab fees." She found the Multicultural Center staff helpful in planning course schedules. Tutorials have also been beneficial. According to Student 3, campus tutorial services have been cut and the convenient 1:1 tutoring is no longer available to her--"all they have

now is drop-in tutors with lines of people waiting." Student 3 feels that this places a hardship on her limited time. She has a job and a family as well as course work to complete. Student 3 is a single parent with three children.

(Student 3)

Student 3's closest friend attends De Anza. She is involved in extracurricular campus activities and has done a "lot of translating" for people (doctors and lawyers) offering services in her community. Her mother grew up on a ranch and does not want to become a U.S. citizen. She is a legal resident. Her father is a retired cannery worker. Student 3 states that her parents "have a positive attitude toward school." She has a sister who attended San Jose State but dropped out. Her sister now works as a senior publishing editor for a private company.

Figure 3. Decision to Attend De Anza College-Hispanic Student

Student 3

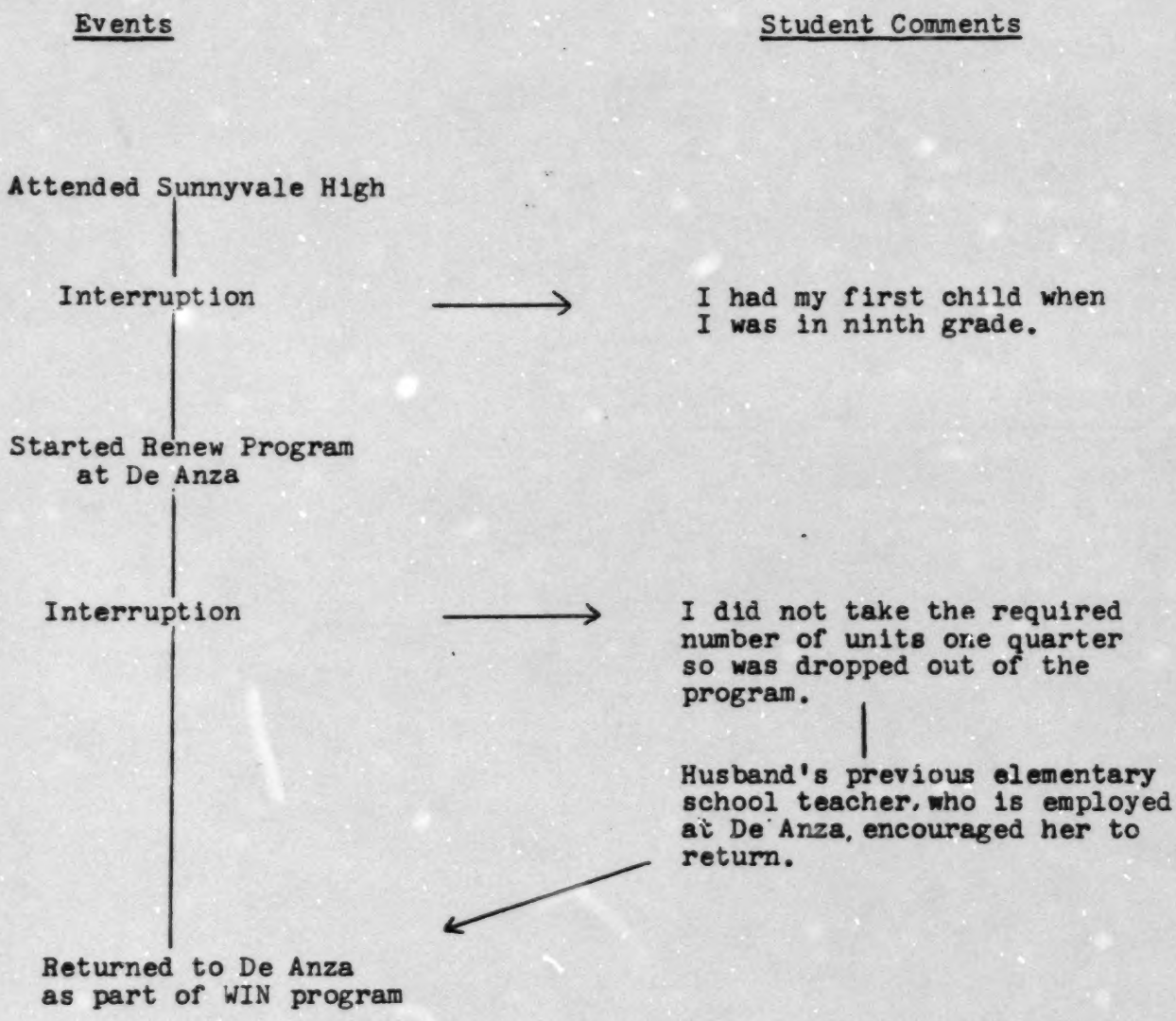

Events
Student Comments
Attended Sunnyvale High
Interruption
I had my first child when I was in ninth grade.
Started Renew Program at De Anza
Interruption
I did not take the required number of units one quarter so was dropped out of the program.
Husband's previous elementary school teacher, who is employed at De Anza, encouraged her to return.
Returned to De Anza as part of WIN program

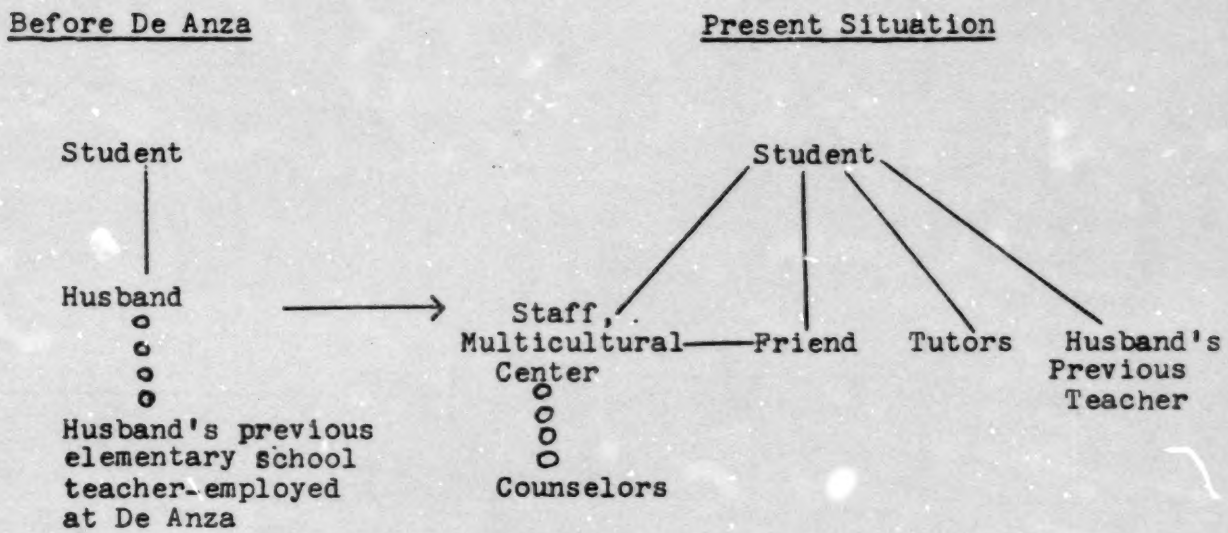
Figure 3A. Transfer Information Acquisition-Hispanic Student

Student 3

Events	Student Comments
Talked with husband's former elementary school teacher	
Went to Multicultural Center →	The staff helps me to plan my schedule. Tutorials were also helpful...I have a good friend who is very helpful.

Figure 3B. Communication Network: Before Entering De Anza and Present Situation-Hispanic Student

Student 3



_____First Order Relationship

00000Second Order Relationship

Comments on Student 3 Profile

Student 3's situation is quite different from Student 1's. Student 3 is a full-time day student and is a single parent. Student 1 is a part-time night student who is single. Student 3 mentions a good friend as a source of transfer information, Student 1 does not.

Given these differences, their communication network patterns are very similar. They both begin with a distant link or no apparent link to a campus counselor. The counselor link becomes a second order relationship over time, but the relationship doesn't develop into a first order link.

Both Student 1 and Student 3 are Hispanic. They are friends. Both students are active in campus club activities. Student 3 is president of a club this year. Student 1 was a member of student council. Both students receive academic advising assistance, encouragement, and support (counseling and financial) from the campus Multicultural Department. Both students clearly express their desire to continue their schooling.

Student 1 and Student 3 talk about their plans for transfer. They are seen by their peers and by staff at the Multicultural Department as "transfer students." Both were referred to me by several people when I requested names of Hispanic students who are planning to transfer to a four-year school after De Anza. Yet, both Student 1 and Student 3 are technically in certificate programs. Both had initial links which drew them to the Multicultural Center. The programs in which they are enrolled meet their short-term needs for funding and employability. The Multicultural Department provides a much appreciated support staff. A more specific request may have produced different names. A request such as: Can you give

me the names of Hispanic students who are in transfer programs? However, asking this question I may not have uncovered the "invisible transfer student." Invisible in the eyes of the formal transfer structures of the institution (the Counseling Center and other administrators of the transfer programs), yet highly visible as potential transfer students in parts of the Hispanic student community on campus. It may be that campus officials involved in the recruitment of potential minority transfer students need not look far for promising candidates. It is interesting to me that when I asked for names of non-Hispanic white students who are planning to transfer I did obtain names of students in transfer programs. They were referred by a De Anza faculty member. Who I asked may be as much part of this puzzle as how I asked. However, this same faculty member had difficulty trying to think of names of Hispanic potential transfers that I could interview. This may reflect the low participation of Hispanics in transfer programs. It also seems that for the non-Hispanic white community the line between transfer and non-transfer is clearer than for the Hispanic community, with which I came in contact. Student 1 and Student 3 were referred to me by Multicultural Department staff and student peers. The more I learn, the more convoluted the transfer process becomes. Hispanics officially in transfer programs may have quite different profiles from Student 1 and Student 3. Nonetheless, the profiles of the Hispanic students included in this report reflect the concerns of two potential transfers. If I was working from an official list of transfer students, I may not have discovered this aspect of the transfer process--a perspective more likely gained by working in the natural setting.

Profile: Student 4
Non-Hispanic White Female

Student 4 decided to go back to school after a divorce. She has a daughter who is about to graduate from high school. She states that "De Anza was financially the only school I could afford, and I live close to the campus." She is a part-time night student with some prior college experience (like Student 1). Student 4 attended Fullerton College.

Student 4 will complete an A.A. degree in Liberal Arts by June, and plans to obtain an undergraduate degree in Business. She intends to enroll in a combined Foothill-Golden State University, San Francisco business program. She found out about this program from a one-page ad that runs every quarter in the back of the De Anza catalog. She is employed as a sales information supervisor for a company in Mountain View.

Upon arrival at De Anza, Student 4 made an appointment with a counselor at the Counseling Center. According to Student 4, the counselor was too busy and she became discouraged, but she did decide to sign up for a class. Someone in the class recommended that she talk with a re-entry women's counselor. Student 4 remarked that "I didn't know you could change counselors." Her classmate said yes that it was possible and told her to ask for an appointment. Student 4 has seen her counselor four times during her two years at De Anza. She refers to her counselor as an "excellent advisor." Her counselor "makes sure classes would apply for transfer... A night student doesn't have much choice in classes. There is usually one section of each class in the evening, so you must make sure to take the right kinds of classes...My counselor explains things and writes things down...San Jose State has different requirements than UC,Berkeley.

I couldn't figure out what to take alone. I was glad I had a counselor. Also, De Anza requires four kinds of P.E. (physical education) classes. I only had three different kinds, so I still had to take one P.E. class when I got here."

Presently, Student 4 is in the process of petitioning for an A.A. She is not sure of the exact procedure--whether to wait until she has completed all coursework or until the end of the quarter. (I talked to Student 4 during winter quarter.) She plans to see her counselor for help.

Student 4 has "hit stumbling blocks" while working toward an A.A. Her math scores from Fullerton were not acceptable at De Anza so she had to take two more math classes. Also, much of her Fullerton work did not fulfill De Anza requirements. Much of her coursework was not transferable. Her counselor was understanding about her disappointments and supportive--"She (the counselor) felt badly and could understand what I was feeling but I had to take it (extra course)." Student 4 remained positive--"For what's beneficial, you must work hard."

Student 4 has gone to school for two years without a break and says that "I feel a little burnt out. I need to get away for the summer. I'm not sure about September or maybe I'll wait until January to begin school again...It is exhausting to work all day, then go to school at night. For example, I take Algebra from 8:20-10:30 p.m. The tests are given between 9:30-10:30 p.m. The main disadvantage of going to school is that I am so tired-my comprehension is not as good."

Student 4 goes on to provide her perspective of the night student: "Night students seldom see the same students quarter after quarter. Classes are usually full. Children's Literature is the smallest class I've taken. There are approximately 15 of us. It is difficult to plan a program with night courses. Alot of times the courses you have to take would be given at the same time." Student 4 did not take Counseling 50

because , according to her, it wasn't offered in the evening two years ago.

One of Student 4's closest friends is her roommate who takes classes through the University of Phoenix Extension program. Student 4 is the first in her family to attend college. Her parents did not go to college nor did her brother. Her brother is a successful businessman who, at times, teaches courses in merchandising and marketing.

Student 4 likes marketing and sales. She is presently employed as a sales information supervisor for a company in Mountain View. She wants to remain in the same field, but have a more challenging job. She is hopeful that her company will help to support, financially and with time off, the rest of her education since her major, Business, will directly relate to her work.

Student 4 is future oriented with long-term goals--"For change and growth, you need education. I've had to put one foot in front of the other and make myself go to school." As I thanked her for her time she said," Call me again if you need to. I'm doing this because I might need help on something like this later."

Figure 4. Decision to Attend De Anza College-Non-Hispanic White Student

Student 4

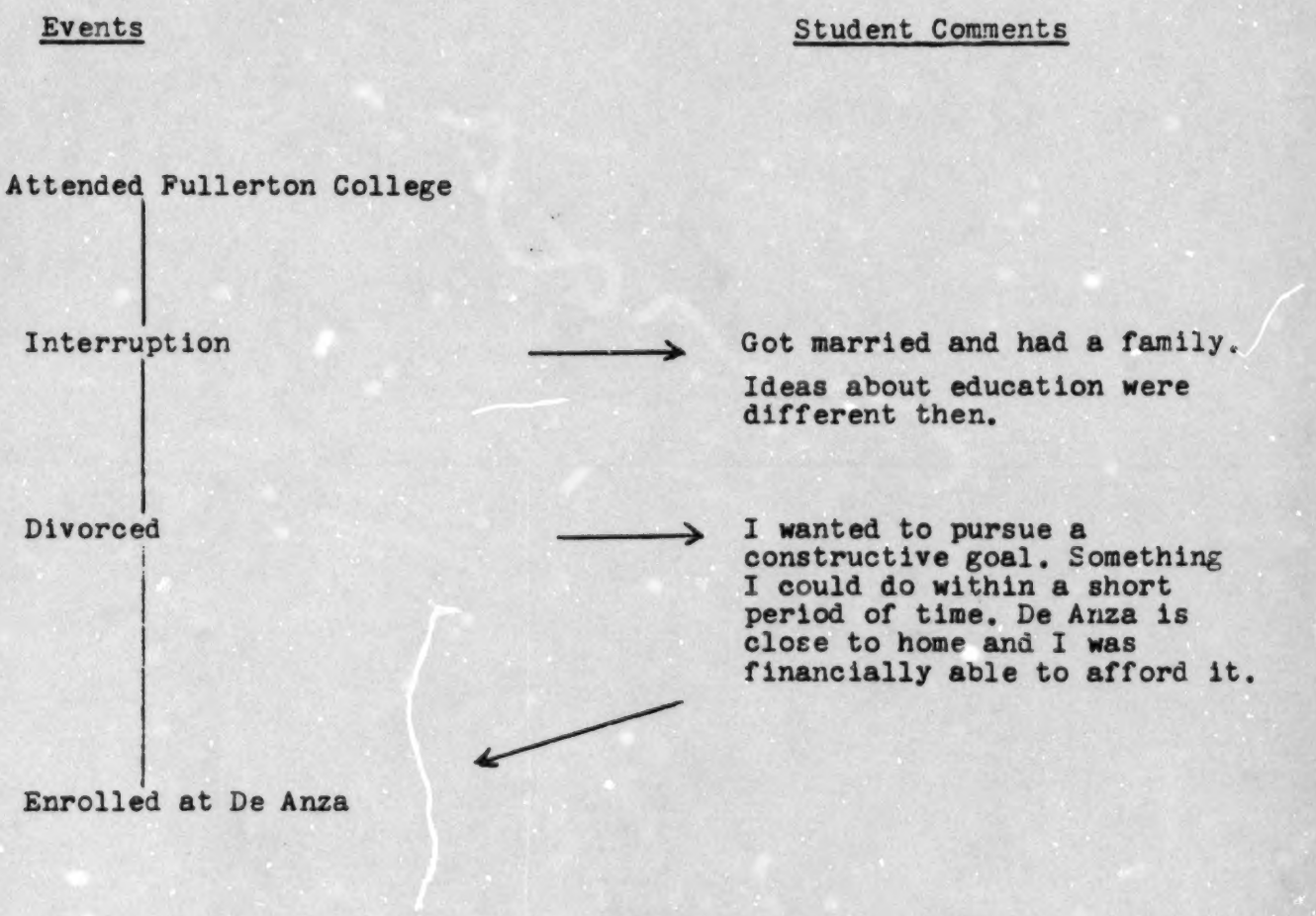

Events
Student Comments
Attended Fullerton College
Interruption
Got married and had a family.
Ideas about education were different then.
Divorced
I wanted to pursue a constructive goal. Something I could do within a short period of time. De Anza is close to home and I was financially able to afford it.
Enrolled at De Anza

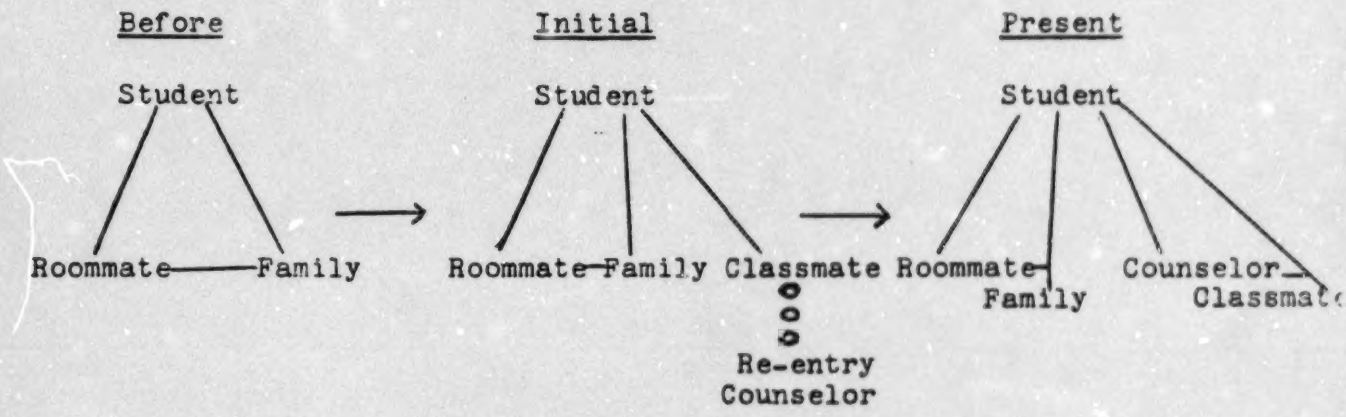
Figure 4A. Transfer Information Acquisition-Non-Hispanic White Student

Student 4

Events	Student Comments
Counselor Appointment →	When I first got back, I made an appointment. The counselor was too busy. I got discouraged. So, I just signed up for a class.
Classmate recommended a counselor	
Met with the counselor →	I have a lot of confidence in my counselor. She answers my questions and makes sure the classes I take would apply to my major.
Read information on the Foothill-Golden Gate University progam in Business →	I plan to get an undergraduate degree in Business. I would like to attend this program.

Figure 4B. Communication Network: Before De Anza, Initial and Present Situation at De Anza-Non-Hispanic White Student

Student 4



_____First Order Relationship

00000Second Order Relationship

Comments on Student 4 Profile

Due to time conflicts, I interviewed Student 4 by phone. Students 1,2, and 3 were each interviewed in person. All interviews were approximately thirty minutes in length.

Student 4's communication network pattern begins, as Student 3's, with no evident link to a De Anza campus counselor. However, Student 4 does have a first order, multiplex relationship with her friend and roommate, who is also working full-time while enrolled in an advance degree program. Her roommate and family appear supportive of Student 4's desire to return to school. Upon enrollment at De Anza, Student 4 has a first order interaction with a counselor, but the exchange is discouraging. She decides to enroll in a class anyway and forms a first order connection with a classmate who seems to have a first order relationship with a reentry counselor. The classmate recommends that Student 4 see this counselor. Student 4 makes an appointment with the counselor.This link develops into a first order relationship which is maintained over time.

The present network pattern for Student 4 and Student 2 (both non-Hispanic white students) are similar in that they've both formed first order relationships with a counselor who has been very helpful in guiding them through the transfer process. Both Student 4 and Student 2 are in the final stages of obtaining an A.A. degree and are very optimistic about their chances for transfer. On the other hand, Student 1 and Student 3 (Hispanic students) show a very different pattern. They have not developed a direct contact with the Counseling Center and are very concerned about how to pursue a four-year college degree. Student 2 maintains the most dense school-related network. She is the only student interviewed who begins with a second order link to a campus counselor.

Another similarity between Student 4 and Student 2 is their ability to express very detailed knowledge of "what it takes" to maximize transferability of all classes taken at De Anza. The transferability of coursework is at the heart of the transfer process. In addition, both students mentioned the use of written transfer information sources. Documents such as the De Anza Catalog and the General Education Guide were found helpful in the acquisition of information. The Hispanic students did not mention the use of such documents. This does not mean that they did not obtain information from written documents, but could indicate that, for Students 1 and 3, personal exchange of knowledge might be more memorable. Since much of the transfer information at De Anza is in written form, and counselors hold students responsible for the information, the difference in knowledge acquisition strategy demonstrated in this report should be explored further.

Although Student 4's communication pattern and movement through the transfer process is very similar to Student 2's situation, there are several similarities between Student 4 and the Hispanic students interviewed for this study. Student 4 and Student 3 are single parents. Student 4 and Student 1 are part-time night students, and both had previous college experience before enrolling at De Anza. Students 1, 3, and 4 all express financial concerns in conjunction with school attendance.

Student 4 differs from all other Students interviewed in that she is the first in her family to seek a college education.

Student 4's difficulties with course transfer and test scores which were not acceptable at De Anza, resulted in more course work necessary to obtain her degree. While part of the problem may be due to the passage of time between college experiences, this situation may signal complications for transfer between community colleges.

Conclusion

Information on the requirements necessary for transfer was assumed to be conducive to the movement of students from two to four-year colleges, whereas lack of transfer information was thought to inhibit this movement. This study examines participation in the transfer information flow by two Hispanic and two non-Hispanic white students attending De Anza College. Communication network analysis was used to identify mutual information-exchange patterns from interview data provided by students intending to transfer from De Anza to a four-year college. Although other institutional sources of transfer information exist, student links to the Counseling Center were emphasized because the center is acknowledged as the formal source of transfer information on the De Anza Campus. Results suggest that the communication network pattern differs greatly for students depending on their reference group. These differences may have implications regarding the ability of Hispanic and non-Hispanic white students to transfer from two to four-year colleges.

Distinctive communication network patterns emerge from the interview data. Hispanic students (Student 1 and Student 3) begin with a distant link or no evident link to a campus counselor. During their experience at De Anza, a network pattern evolves which brings the students into a second order relationship ("friend of a friend") with the counselor. However, this connection does not become a direct relationship or first order link. In other words, for Hispanics in this study, the network pattern is not directly linked to the formal transfer information flow of the institution.

In the case of non-Hispanic white students, results suggests that where they begin may not be as important in affecting first order or direct contact with a campus counselor. Student 2 enrolls at De Anza

a "step ahead" of the other students. She begins with a second order, friend of a friend, link with a campus counselor. However, Student 4, who begins with no evident link to the Counseling Center, has a present network pattern that is most similar to Student 2's. Over time, both non-Hispanic white students achieve and maintain a direct relationship with a counselor. Their network pattern, unlike that for Hispanic students, is directly linked to the formal transfer information flow of the institution.

In these student cases, factors such as the following did not greatly affect the emerging communication network pattern: day or night student status, full-time/part-time student status, and single parent versus single student status. However, close ties, family or roommate, with people who have completed or are completing four-year degrees is one common factor, other than ethnic group identification, which may influence the evolution of a communication network pattern that is more connected toward the formal structures of the institution. Also, the non-Hispanic white students interviewed mentioned the use of printed materials as important in obtaining transfer information, whereas the Hispanic students did not mention this source of information in their interviews.

I'm not sure what these communication network patterns reflect, but they seem important for the timely movement of students through the transfer process at De Anza. The communication network method of analysis is powerful because it makes the structure or form of interpersonal relationships visible as a variable under study. However, a major drawback is that while the structure says a lot about the potential for mutual information-exchange, it does not illuminate the content or substance of actual exchanges. In other words, we don't know what information is actually exchanged and

how that information or person affects student behavior as they move through the transfer process. Nonetheless, differences in the communication network pattern itself seems to have implications regarding the ability of students interviewed to transfer from De Anza to a four-year college. Students whose network pattern included a direct connection to the formal information flow of the institution were ready for transfer and were confident of their chances to succeed. Students whose network pattern did not include this direct connection were not clear about their transfer prospects. While these students may eventually transfer, they are much farther from reaching their expresessed educational goals than the non-Hispanic white students who are ready for transfer. In fact, the Hispanic students, although planning to transfer, are not in transfer programs. Further, the non-Hispanic white students expressed a clearer understanding of the overall transfer process than the Hispanic students.

Returning from my journey with students caught up in the transfer flow, I realize that more can be gained from looking at the environmental factors that may affect the distinctive communication patterns discussed in this report. For example, the movement of these students through the transfer process at De Anza is nested in the process governing student transfer among all of the higher education segments. It takes two to transfer. The interorganizational transfer process is extremely convoluted necessitating coordination of widely varied transfer requirements in the entire post-secondary education sector. A friend of mine remarked, "to go from high school to the University of California is a little easier then because high school requirements are somewhat uniform--more so than requirements for transfer students."

The results of this study also suggest that students, in general, have a difficult time navigating the transfer currents. Even students who are ready to transfer express concern over the final stages of the process. Student 4 states "I have to set up an appointment to talk with her (counselor) so that my transcript can be evaluated. I might need more courses. I'm not sure of the exact procedure." Student 2 was the most confident that all but six of her units would transfer to UCLA. However, she knew exactly where she wanted to go early in her community college program and she, unlike the others, is not trying to transfer into an impacted area of study. Student 4 is majoring in psychology. Student 1 is interested in computer science. Students 2 and 3 are interested in obtaining degrees in business-related fields. In addition, even though Student 2's communication network is the most closely connected toward De Anza's counseling services when she enrolls, she needs direction in order to guide her through the transfer process. She actively seeks help and her efforts lead her to a counselor who is of assistance. . . For the non-traditional students, who may not know what to ask and may not know who to ask, direct contact with formal information sources early in their college career may be essential for movement through the transfer process. Student 4 (a re-entry student) makes this link, Students 1 and 3 do not. However, for this connection to be effective, it must last over time. This seems to be the case for Students 2 and 4. Both had initial contacts with counselors which they felt discouraging, but were able to eventually form a counselor connection that was beneficial. It seems that if there is a "failure in the transfer function", it is a failure that the entire post-secondary education system must address. This complicated process cuts across all layers in the system. No single individual, office, or institution can fully address the issue.

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Appendix A

Transfer Services Provided by the Counseling Center

Courses

Counseling 50, Orientation to College
Self-Assessment

Documents

Brochures; curriculum guides; catalog; course selection guide; schedule of classes

Activities

Career Day at high schools; UC/CSU representative days; De Anza Day

Referrals

To bilingual counselor (one Chinese speaking and one Spanish speaking)
To Multicultural Center
To Career Center
To prospective four-year schools in order to obtain a catalog

Role of the Counselor

See new students at registration day before they go through course sign-up; sign placement cards

See students who register and have less than thirty units

Sign off on study list for student on probation until student is off probation

Sends letter to students who have accumulated seventy units informing them of the need to make an exit/ progress appointment with a counselor

Acts as liaison to department deans;attends departmental meetings to keep up with what is happening in that area and report back to the rest of the counseling staff(i.e. curriculum changes).

Attend classes when invited and talk about counseling services

The Counseling Center has drop-in counseling available each day and in the evenings. Counseling by appointment is also available. There are no specific services for minority students.

Information listed on this sheet was provided by counselors interviewed. The list of services is not meant to be exhaustive or detailed, but to provide the reader with a general outline of services available.

Appendix B

Glossary

College Readiness Program

Offered through the Multicultural Department. Designed to assist the minotity and non-traditional student at De Anza. Offers specialized instruction with emphasis on the development of skills in English, reading, writing, critical thinking and speech. Many courses are transferable to four-year colleges and meet De Anza's General Education requirements. Peer counselors help students interpret financial aid forms, class schedules and registration forms.

Cooperative Agencies Resources for Education (CARE) Program

A program developed by Santa Clara County Department of Social Services, Employment Development Office and the De Anza Multicultural Department to provide vocational career opportunities to single, head-of-household persons receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Services available are peer counseling, financial assistance, access to campus Child Development Center, and assistance in acquiring off-campus child care. Funds are provided to help with book and child care costs. To be eligible for CARE, students must be at least 18 years of age(or 17 already hold a high school diploma), be a recipient of AFDC, and have a need to develop basic marketable job skills.

Counseling 50,Introduction to College

A .5 unit, credit/no credit course taught by campus cpunselors. It is a requirement for all beginning freshmen carrying more than eight units, and is designed to acquaint the student with the De Anza campus--its facilities, academic regulations, and degree and transfer programs.

Extended Opportunity Programs and Services (EOPS)

A program under the Multicultural Department which provides encouragement directed to "enrollment of students handicapped by language, social and economic disadvantagement, and to facilitate their successful participation in the educational and vocational pursuits of the college." EOPS services offered include academic counseling, tutorial assistance, personal counseling, and transfer advising.

General Education Course Selection Guide

A pamphlet available at the De Anza Bookstore and used by counselors to provide academic advising to students. The pamphlet describes areas of concentration (Basic Learning Skills, Natural Science and Mathematics, Humanities, Social, Political, and Economic Institutions, and Lifelong Development) and course lists for :

1. The De Anza college 40 units general education requirement for A.A./A.S. degree

2. The July 1983 State University 58 unit general education requirements
3. The University of California, Berkeley general education/ breadth requirements for the College of Letters and Science

Multicultural Department

A department in the Intercultural Division at De Anza which provides support services for EOPS students. The Multicultural Department also provides services to the Bilingual Center located on the Sunnyvale campus (an extension of De Anza). Student services provided by the Multicultural Department (many refer to as Multicultural Center) staff and peer counselors include: assistance with financial advising,class scheduling, and academic advising. Student academic progress is also monitored by this office. Transfer information and tutorial assistance is provided. To qualify for services students must be enrolled full-time and demonstrate financial need. EOPS students may be enrolled in any full-time program on campus.

Renew Program

A De Anza College program especially designed to offer services to the re-entry student. Special classes offered include: counseling for the re-entry student, career/life planning, sociology of women and men, study skills, English, and political science. Services offered include counseling, referral to other college services, and support from Renew staff and instructors.

Work Incentive Program (WIN)

Designed to assist students in the development of employable skills. Provides funding for student particpation in a one year vocational or certificate program.